
BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

MARDONIUS, when Alexander, having returned, had made known the answer from the Athenians, set out from Thessaly, and led his army in haste against Athens; and wherever he arrived from time to time, he joined the people to his own forces. The leaders of Thessaly were so far from repenting of what had been before done, that they urged on the Persian much more: and Thorax of Larissa both assisted in escorting Xerxes in his flight, and now openly gave Mardonius a passage into Greece. 2. When the army on its march arrived among the Bœotians, the Thebans endeavoured to restrain Mardonius, and advised him, saying that there was no country more convenient to encamp in than that, and dissuaded him from advancing farther, but urged him to take up his station there, and contrive so as to subdue the whole of Greece without a battle. “For that if the Greeks continue firmly united, as they had done before, it would be difficult even for all man-

kind to overcome them. But," they continued, "if you will do what we advise, you will without difficulty frustrate all their plans: send money to the most powerful men in the cities; and by sending it you will split Greece into parties, and then, with the assistance of those of your party, you may easily subdue those who are not in your interest." 3. They gave this advice; he, however, was not prevailed on, but a vehement desire of taking Athens a second time was instilled into him; partly by presumption, and partly he hoped, by signal fires across the islands, to make known to the king while he was at Sardis, that he was in possession of Athens. When he arrived in Attica, he did not find the Athenians there; but was informed that most of them were at Salamis, and on board their ships; he therefore took the deserted city. The capture by the king was ten months before this second invasion by Mardonius.

4. While Mardonius was at Athens, he sent Murychides, a Hellespontine, to Salamis, with the same proposals which Alexander the Macedonian had already conveyed to the Athenians. He sent this second time, although before aware that the disposition of the Athenians was not friendly to him, but expecting they would remit something of their haughtiness, since the whole Attic territory was taken and now in his power. For these reasons he sent Murychides to Salamis.

5. He, on coming before the council, delivered the message of Mardonius. And Lycidas, one of the councillors, gave his opinion, that, "it appeared to him to be best to entertain the proposal which Murychides brought to them, and to report it to the people." He delivered this opinion, either because he had received money from Mardonius, or because such was really his opinion. But the Athenians, immediately being very indignant, both those belonging to the council, and those without, as soon as they were informed of it, surrounded Lycidas, and stoned him to death; but they dismissed Murychides the Hellespontine unharmed. A tumult having taken place at Salamis respecting Lycidas, the Athenian women obtained information of what had happened; whereupon one woman encouraging another, and uniting together, they went of their own accord to the house of Lycidas, and stoned his wife and children. 6. The Athenians had crossed over to Salamis under the following circumstances. As long as they

expected that an army would come from the Peloponnesus to assist them, they remained in Attica ; but when they had recourse to delay and extreme tardiness, and Mardonius was advancing and reported to be in Bœotia, they then removed all their effects, and themselves crossed over to Salamis : they also sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, partly to blame the Lacedæmonians, because they had allowed the barbarian to invade Attica, and had not gone out with them to meet him in Bœotia ; and partly to remind them of what the Persian had promised to give them, if they would change sides ; and to forewarn them, that unless they assisted the Athenians, they would themselves find some means of escape. 7. At that time the Lacedæmonians were employed in celebrating a festival, and it was the Hyacinthia with them ; and they deemed it of the greatest importance to attend to the service of the deity. At the same time they were busied in building the wall at the Isthmus, and it had already received the breast-works.

When the ambassadors from the Athenians arrived at Lacedæmon, bringing with them ambassadors from Megara and Plataea, they went before the ephori, and spoke as follows : (1.) “ The Athenians have sent us to tell you, that the king of the Medes in the first place offers to restore our country ; and, secondly, is willing to make us his allies on fair and equal terms, without fraud or deceit ; he is also willing to give us another territory, in addition to our own, whatever we ourselves may choose. We, however, reverencing the Grecian Jupiter, and thinking it disgraceful to betray Greece, have not acceded to, but rejected his offers ; though we are unjustly treated, and betrayed by the Greeks, and know that it is more for our own interest to come to terms with the Persian, than to continue the war ; still we will never willingly come to terms with him. (2.) Thus sincerely we have acted towards the Greeks. But you, who were then in the utmost consternation lest we should come to terms with the Persian, when you were clearly assured of our resolution, that we will never betray Greece, and because your wall drawn across the Isthmus is now nearly completed, no longer show any regard for the Athenians. For having agreed to advance with us to meet the Persian in Bœotia, you have betrayed us, and have allowed the barbarian to invade Attica. Hitherto the Atheni-

ans are angry with you, for you have not acted in a becoming manner; and now they exhort you to send out forces with us with all expedition, that we may receive the barbarian in Attica; for since we have missed Bœotia, the Thriasian plain in our own territory is the most convenient place to give battle in." 8. When the ephori had heard this message, they put off their answer to the next day, and on the next day to the morrow. This they did for ten days, putting them off from day to day. During this time they proceeded with the wall at the Isthmus, all the Peloponnesians using the utmost diligence; and it was nearly completed. I can give no reason why, when Alexander the Macedonian went to Athens, they took such pains to prevent the Athenians from siding with the Mede, and then took no trouble about it, except that the Isthmus was now fortified, and they thought they had no further need of the Athenians; whereas, when Alexander arrived in Attica, the wall was not yet built, but they were working at it, being in great dread of the Persians.

9. At length, the answer and march of the Spartans happened in the following manner.¹ On the day preceding that on which the last audience was to take place, Chileus of Tegea, who had the greatest influence in Lacedæmon of any stranger, was informed by the ephori of all that the Athenians had said. Chileus, having heard it, spoke to them as follows: "The case is thus, O ephori; if the Athenians are not united with us, but are allied to the barbarian, although a strong wall has been carried across the Isthmus, wide doors leading into the Peloponnesus are open to the Persian; therefore give heed, before the Athenians come to any other determination which may bring ruin on Greece." 10. He, then, gave them this advice; and they, taking his remark into consideration, forthwith, without saying any thing to the ambassadors who had come from the cities, while it was still night, sent out five thousand Spartans, appointing seven helots to attend each, and committing the conduct of them to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas; but he was still a boy, and the former his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, the father of Pausanias, and son to Anaxandrides, was no longer living, but having led back the

¹ Literally, "the following manner of the answer and march took place."

army that had built the wall, from the Isthmus, he died shortly afterwards. Cleombrotus led back the army from the Isthmus for this reason ; as he was sacrificing against the Persians, the sun darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague Euryanax, son of Dorieus, who was a man of the same family. These forces, accordingly, marched from Sparta with Pausanias. 11. The ambassadors, when they came, knowing nothing of the march *of the troops*, went to the ephori, being resolved themselves also to depart severally to their own cities ; and having come into their presence, they spoke as follows : " You, O Lacedæmonians, remaining here, celebrate the Hyacinthia, and divert yourselves, while you are betraying the allies. But the Athenians, being injured by you, and destitute of allies, will make peace with the Persian on such terms as they can. And having made peace, it is evident that we shall become the king's allies, and shall march with them against whatever country they shall lead us ; and then you will learn what the consequence will be to yourselves." When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the ephori said with an oath, " that those who had set out against the foreigners, were already at Oresteum ;" for they call the barbarians foreigners. The ambassadors asked what was meant ; and on inquiry, learnt the whole truth, so that, being much surprised, they followed after them with all possible expedition ; and with them, five thousand chosen heavy-armed troops of the neighbouring Lacedæmonians did the same. 12. They then hastened towards the Isthmus. But the Argives, as soon as they heard that the troops with Pausanias had left Sparta, sent a herald to Attica, having looked out the best of their couriers, for they had before promised Mardonius to prevent the Spartans from going out. He, when he arrived at Athens, spoke as follows : " Mardonius, the Argives have sent me to inform you, that the youth of Lacedæmon are marched out, and that the Argives were unable to prevent them from going out. Under these circumstances take the best advice you can." He, having spoken thus, went home again.

13. Mardonius, when he heard this, was by no means desirous to stay longer in Attica. Before he heard this, he lingered there, wishing to know from the Athenians what they would do ; but he neither ravaged nor injured the Attic territory, being in expectation all along that they would come to terms. But

when he could not persuade them, being informed of the whole truth, he withdrew, before those with Pausanias reached the Isthmus, having first set fire to Athens, and if any part of the walls, or houses, or temples, happened to be standing, having thrown down and laid all in ruins. He marched out for the following reasons, because the Attic country was not adapted for cavalry; and if he should be conquered in an engagement, there was no way to escape except through a narrow pass, so that even a small number of men could intercept them. He determined therefore to retire to Thebes, and to fight near a friendly city, and in a country adapted for cavalry. 14. Mardonius accordingly retreated; and while he was yet on his march, another message came in advance, that another army had reached Megara, *consisting of* a thousand Lacedæmonians. When he heard this, he deliberated, wishing, if by any means he could, to take these first; therefore, wheeling round, he led his army against Megara; and his cavalry going on before scoured the Megarian territory. This was the farthest part of Europe, towards the sun-set, to which this Persian army reached. 15. After this, news came to Mardonius, that the Greeks were assembled at the Isthmus; he therefore marched back through Decelea. For the Bœotian chiefs had sent for the neighbours of the Asopians; and they conducted him along the way to Sphendale, and from thence to Tanagra; and having passed the night at Tanagra, and on the next day turned towards Scolus, he arrived in the territory of the Thebans. There he cleared the lands of the Thebans, though they sided with the Mede, not out of enmity towards them, but constrained by urgent necessity; wishing to make a fortification for his army, and in case, when he engaged, the result should not be such as he wished, he might have this as a place of refuge. His camp beginning at Erythræ, passed by Hysia and extended to the Plataean territory, stretching to the river Asopus. The wall, however, was not built of this extent, but each front was about ten stades in length.

While the barbarians were employed in this task, Attaginus, son of Phrynon, a Theban, having made great preparations, invited Mardonius himself and fifty of the most eminent Persians to an entertainment; and they, being invited, came. The feast was held at Thebes. 16. The rest I heard from Thersander an Orchomenian, a man of high repute at Orcho-

menus. Thersander said that he also was invited by Attaginus to this feast, and that fifty Thebans were also invited; and that he did not place each person on a separate couch, but a Persian and a Theban on each couch. When supper was over, and they were drinking freely, the Persian who was on the same couch, using the Grecian tongue, asked him of what country he was; he answered that he was an Orchomenian, whereupon the other said: "Since you are a partaker of the same table and of the same cups with me, I wish to leave with you a memorial of my opinion, in order that, being forewarned, you may be able to consider what is best for your own interest. Do you see these Persians feasting here, and the army that we left encamped near the river? Of all these you will see, after the lapse of a short time, only some few surviving." As the Persian said this, he shed abundance of tears; and he himself, being astonished at his words, said to him: "Would it not be right to tell this to Mardonius, and to those Persians who are next to him in authority?" To this he answered: "My friend, that which is fated by the deity to happen, it is impossible for man to avert; for no one will listen to those who say what is worthy of credit. And though many of the Persians are convinced of this, we follow, being bound by necessity. The bitterest grief to which men are liable is this, when one knows much, to have no power to act." This I heard from Thersander the Orchomenian; and this besides, that he immediately told this to several persons before the battle was fought at Platæa.

17. While Mardonius encamped in Bœotia, all the rest furnished troops, and joined in the attack upon Athens, such however of the Greeks who, dwelling in these parts, sided with the Mede: but the Phocians only did not join in the attack; for they took part with the Mede very unwillingly and by necessity. But not many days after his arrival at Thebes, a thousand of their heavy-armed troops arrived; Harmocydes, a man of high repute among the citizens, commanded them. When they also arrived at Thebes, Mardonius, having sent some horsemen, ordered them to encamp by themselves in the plain; and when they had done this, the whole cavalry came up. Upon this a rumour spread through the Grecian forces, who were with the Medes, that they were going to despatch them with their javelins; this same rumour also spread among

the Phocians themselves. Whereupon, their general Harmocydes encouraged them, addressing them as follows: "O Phocians, it is plain that these men are about to deliver us up to certain death, we having been calumniated by the Thessalians, as I conjecture. Now, therefore, it is fitting that every one of you should prove himself valiant, for it is better to die doing something, and defending ourselves, than expose ourselves to be destroyed by a most disgraceful death. Let some of these men learn, then, that being barbarians, they have plotted death against men who are Greeks." 18. Thus he encouraged them. But the cavalry, when they had surrounded them on all sides, rode up as if to destroy them, and brandished their javelins, as if about to hurl them; and one here and there did hurl his javelin. They, however, faced them, forming themselves into a circle, and closing their ranks as much as possible: whereupon the cavalry wheeled round and rode away. I am unable to say with certainty, whether they came to destroy the Phocians at the request of the Thessalians, and when they saw them prepared to defend themselves, were afraid lest they might receive some wounds, and therefore rode off, (because Mardonius had so ordered them,) or whether he wished to try whether they had any courage. But when the cavalry had ridden back, Mardonius sent a herald and spoke as follows: "Be of good heart, O Phocians, for you have proved yourselves to be brave men, contrary to what I heard. Therefore sustain this war with resolution, and you shall not surpass me or the king in generosity." Such were the events in regard to the Phocians.

19. The Lacedæmonians, when they arrived at the Isthmus, there encamped. And the rest of the Peloponnesians, who favoured the better cause, when they heard of this, and others also who saw the Spartans marching out, thought it would be a disgrace to absent themselves from the expedition of the Lacedæmonians. Accordingly, the victims having proved favourable, they all marched out from the Isthmus, and advanced to Eleusis. And having consulted the victims there also, when they were again favourable, they continued their march; and the Athenians with them, they having crossed over from Salamis, and joined them at Eleusis. When they reached Erythræ in Bœotia, they learnt that the barbarians were encamped on the Asopus, and having there-

upon consulted together, they formed themselves opposite, at the foot of Mount Cithæron. 20. Mardonius, when the Greeks did not come down to the plain, sent against them all his cavalry, which Masistius commanded, a man highly esteemed among the Persians (and whom the Greeks call Macistius): he was mounted on a Nisæan horse, that had a golden bit, and was otherwise gorgeously caparisoned. Thereupon, when the cavalry rode up to the Greeks, they charged them in squadrons, and in charging them did them much mischief, and called them women. 21. By chance the Megarians happened to be stationed in that part which was most exposed, and there the cavalry chiefly made their attack. When, therefore, the cavalry charged, the Megarians, being hard pressed, sent a herald to the Grecian generals; and the herald, when he came into their presence, addressed them as follows: "The Megarians say; We, O confederates, are not able alone to sustain the Persian cavalry, retaining the post in which we were originally stationed: hitherto we have held out against them by our constancy and courage, though hard pressed; but now, unless you will send some others to relieve us, know we must abandon our post." He accordingly delivered this message. Pausanias therefore made trial of the Greeks, *to see* if any others would volunteer to go to that position, and to relieve the Megarians. When all the others refused, the Athenians undertook to do it, and of the Athenians three hundred chosen men, whom Olympiodorus, son of Lampon, commanded. 22. These were they who undertook *that service*, and who were stationed in front of all the Greeks at Erythræ, having taken with them some archers. After they had fought for some time, the result of the battle was as follows. As the cavalry charged in squadrons, the horse of Masistius, being in advance of the others, was wounded in the flank by an arrow; and being in pain, he reared and threw Masistius. As he fell, the Athenians immediately attacked him: accordingly they seized his horse, and killed Masistius, as he endeavoured to defend himself, though at first they were unable to do so: for he was thus armed; underneath he had a golden cuirass covered with scales, and over the cuirass he wore a purple cloak. By striking against the cuirass they did nothing; until one of them, perceiving what was the matter, pierced him in the eye, so he fell and died. By some means this, while it was going on, escaped the

notice of the other horsemen, for they neither saw him when he fell from his horse, nor when he was killed; for while a retreat and wheeling round was taking place, they did not notice what had happened. But when they halted, they immediately missed him, as there was no one to marshal them. And as soon as they learnt what had happened, all, cheering one another on, pushed their horses to the charge, in order to recover the body. 23. The Athenians, seeing the cavalry no longer advancing in squadrons, but all together, called out for assistance to the rest of the army; and while the whole infantry was coming up to their aid, a sharp struggle took place for the body. Now as long as the three hundred were alone, they were much inferior, and abandoned the body; but when the multitude came up to their assistance, the cavalry no longer maintained their ground, nor did they succeed in recovering the body, but lost many others of their number, besides him; having therefore retired about two stades, they consulted about what ought to be done; and determined, as they were without a commander, to retreat to Mardonius. 24. When the cavalry arrived at the camp, the whole army, and Mardonius most of all, mourned the loss of Masistius; cutting off their own hair, and that of their horses and beasts of burden, and giving themselves up to unbounded lamentations; for the sound reached over all Bœotia, as for the loss of a man who, next to Mardonius, was most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the barbarians, according to their custom, honoured Masistius when dead.

25. The Greeks, when they had withstood the attack of the cavalry, and having withstood had repulsed it, were much more encouraged, and first of all, having placed the body on a carriage, they carried it along the line; but the body was worthy of admiration, on account of his stature and beauty; for that reason they did this, and the men, leaving their ranks, came out to view Masistius. After this, they determined to go down towards Platæa, for the Platæan territory appeared to be much more convenient for them to encamp in than the Erythræan, both in other respects, and as it was better supplied with water. To this country, therefore, and to the fountain Gargaphia, which is in this country, they decided that it would be best to remove, and having drawn up their line, there to encamp. Accordingly, having taken up their arms, they

marched by the foot of Mount Cithæron, near Hysiaë, into the Plataean territory ; and on arriving there, they formed in line, nation by nation, near the fountain of Gargaphia, and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, on slight elevations and the level plain. 26. There in the distribution of the stations a vehement dispute arose between the Tegeans and the Athenians ; for each claimed a right to occupy the other wing,² alleging both their recent and former exploits. On the other hand, the Tegeans spoke thus : “ We have ever been thought entitled to this station by all the allies, in whatever common expeditions have been undertaken by the Peloponnesians, both anciently and recently, from the time when the Heraclidæ, after the death of Eurystheus, attempted to return to Peloponnesus. We then obtained this honour on the following occasion. When we, in conjunction with the Achæans and Ionians, who were then in Peloponnesus, having marched out to the Isthmus, were posted opposite the invaders, then it is related that Hyllus made proclamation, that it would be better not to run the hazard of engaging army with army ; but that from the Peloponnesian camp, the man amongst them whom they judge to be the best, should fight singly with him on certain conditions. The Peloponnesians determined that this should be done ; and they took oaths on the following terms : that if Hyllus should conquer the Peloponnesian leader, the Heraclidæ should return to their paternal possessions ; but if he should be conquered, the Heraclidæ should depart and lead off their army, and not seek to return into Peloponnesus during the space of a hundred years. And Echemus, son of Aeropus, son of Pliegeus, who was our king and general, having volunteered, was chosen out of all the allies, and fought singly and slew Hyllus. From this exploit we obtained among the Peloponnesians of that day both other great privileges, which we continue to enjoy, and that we should always command one wing, whenever a common expedition is undertaken. With you, then, O Lacedæmonians, we do not contend, but giving you the choice of whichever wing you wish to command, we concede it to you ; but we say that it belongs to us to lead the other, as in former times. And besides this exploit that has been mentioned, we are more entitled to have that station than the Athenians, for many and well-contested battles have been

² The Lacedæmonians chose which wing they pleased.

fought by us with you, O men of Sparta, and many with others. It is right, therefore, that we should have one wing, rather than the Athenians; for such exploits have not been achieved by them as by us, either in modern or ancient times." Thus they spoke. 27. To this the Athenians answered as follows: "We are aware that this assemblage was made for the purpose of fighting with the barbarian, and not for disputes; but since the Tegean has proposed to mention the former and recent actions that have been achieved by each nation in all times, it is necessary for us to make known to you, whence it is our hereditary right, having ever proved ourselves valiant, to hold the first rank, rather than the Arcadians. As to the Heraclidæ, whose leader they affirm they slew at the Isthmus; in the first place, these men formerly, when rejected by all the Greeks to whom they came, when flying from slavery at the hands of the Mycenæans, we alone received, and put an end to the insolence of Eurystheus, by conquering in battle, in conjunction with them, the people who then possessed Peloponnesus. In the next place, when the Argives who marched with Polynices against Thebes were killed, and lay unburied, we having led an army against the Cadmæans, affirm that we recovered the bodies and buried them in our own territory at Eleusis. We also performed a valiant exploit against the Amazons, who once made an irruption into Attica from the river Thermodon; and in the Trojan war we were inferior to none. But it is of no avail to call these things to mind; for those who were then valiant, the same may now be cowards; and those who were then cowards, may now be brave. Enough, then, of ancient exploits. But if no other achievement had been performed by us, though there were many and gallant ones, if by any others of the Greeks, yet from our exploit at Marathon we are worthy of this honour, and more than this; we who alone of the Greeks, having fought single-handed with the Persian, and having attempted such a feat, survived, and conquered six and forty nations. Do we not, then, from this single action, deserve to hold this post? But as it is not becoming on such an occasion as this to be contending about position, we are ready to submit to you, O Lacedæmonians, wherever it seems most convenient to place us, and against whatsoever nation. For, wheresoever we are stationed, we shall endeavour to prove ourselves brave. Command us,

then, as ready to obey." 28. Thus they answered; and the whole army of the Lacedæmonians shouted out, that the Athenians were more worthy to occupy the wing than the Arcadians. Accordingly the Athenians had it, and got the better of the Tegeans.

After this, those of the Greeks who came up later, and those who arrived at first, were drawn up in the following manner. Ten thousand of the Lacedæmonians occupied the right wing; five thousand of these being Spartans, were attended by thirty-five thousand lightly armed Helots, seven being assigned to each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans to stand next themselves, both for honour and valour; of these there were fifteen hundred heavy-armed men: next to them stood five thousand of the Corinthians; and with them they got permission from Pausanias for three hundred Potidæans, who came from Pallene, to stand: next these stood six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus; next them three thousand Sicyonians; next them were eight hundred Epidaurians; and by the side of these were stationed three thousand of the Trœzenians; and next the Trœzenians two hundred Lepreatæ; next these four hundred of the Mycenæans and Tirynthians; next them one thousand Phliasians; and by the side of them stood three hundred Hermionians; next the Hermionians were stationed six hundred of the Eretrians and Styrians; and next them four hundred Chalcidians; next them five hundred Ambra-ciots; after them stood eight hundred of the Leucadians and Anactorians; next them two hundred Paleans from Cephalenia; and after them five hundred of the Æginetæ were stationed; and by the side of them were posted three thousand of the Megarians; and next them six hundred Platæans; and last of all, and at the same time first, eight thousand Athenians took their station, occupying the left wing, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, commanding them. 29. These, except the seven assigned to each of the Spartans, were heavy-armed; their total number amounting to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred. All the heavy-armed men assembled to oppose the barbarian were so many. Of the light-armed the number was as follows: in the Spartans' line thirty-five thousand men, there being seven to each man; every one of these was equipped as for war: and the light-armed of the rest of the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, about one to each man,

amounted to thirty-four thousand five hundred. So that the number of the light-armed fighting men was sixty-nine thousand five hundred. 30. Thus, then, the whole of the Grecian army assembled at Plataea, reckoning heavy-armed and light-armed fighting men, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand, wanting one thousand eight hundred men: and with the Thespians who came up, the full number of one hundred and ten thousand was completed; for the survivors of the Thespians joined the army, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, but they had not heavy armour. These, then, being drawn up in line, encamped on the Asopus.

31. The barbarians, with Mardonius, when they had ceased to mourn for Masistius, having heard that the Greeks were at Plataea, themselves also marched to the Asopus, which flows there; and on their arrival, they were thus drawn up by Mardonius. Opposite the Lacedæmonians he stationed the Persians; and as the Persians far exceeded them in number, they were both drawn up several ranks deep, and extended opposite the Tegeans: and he arrayed them thus; having selected all the most powerful of his forces, he stationed them opposite the Lacedæmonians, and the weaker he arrayed by their side against the Tegeans: this he did by the advice and direction of the Thebans. Next the Persians he ranged the Medes; these fronted the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. Next the Medes he ranged the Bactrians; these fronted the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Mycenæans, and Phliasians. Next the Bactrians he stationed the Indians; these fronted the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styrians, and Chalcidians. Next the Indians, he ranged the Sacæ; these fronted the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. And next the Sacæ, and opposite to the Athenians, Plataeans, and Megarians, he ranged the Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, and the thousand Phocians; for all the Phocians did not side with the Mede; but some of them assisted the cause of the Greeks, being shut up about Parnassus; and sallying from thence, they harassed the army of Mardonius, and the Greeks who were with him. He also ranged the Macedonians, and those that dwelt about Thessaly, against the Athenians. 32. These, the most considerable of the nations that were ranged under Mardonius, have been named, and which were the most distinguished and of most account;

yet there were also mixed with them men of other nations, Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, Æthiopians, and others; and among them those of the Æthiopians and Egyptians who are called Hermotybians and Calasirians, armed with swords; who are the only Egyptians that are warriors.³ These, while he was still at Phalerus, he took from on board the ships, they being marines; for the Egyptians were not arrayed with the land-forces that came with Xerxes to Athens. Of barbarians there were three hundred thousand, as has been already shown;⁴ but of Greeks who were allies of Mardonius no one knows the number, for they were not reckoned up; but, to make a guess, I conjecture that they were assembled to the number of fifty thousand. These, who were thus arrayed, were infantry; the cavalry were marshalled apart.

33. When they were all ranged by nations and battalions, thereupon, on the second day, both sides offered sacrifices. For the Greeks, Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, was the person who sacrificed, for he accompanied this army as diviner; him, though an Elean, and by extraction a Clytiad of the Iamidæ, the Lacedæmonians had admitted into the number of their citizens. For when Tisamenus was consulting the oracle at Delphi about offspring, the Pythian answered, that he should be victorious in five very great contests. He accordingly, mistaking the answer, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, as if he were to be victorious in gymnastic contests; and having practised the pentathlon, he missed winning the Olympic prize by one wrestling match, having contended with Hieronymus of Andros. The Lacedæmonians, having learnt that the oracle delivered to Tisamenus referred not to gymnastic but to martial contests, endeavoured by offers of money to persuade Tisamenus to become the leader of their wars, in conjunction with their kings of the Heraclidæ. But he, seeing the Spartans very anxious to make him their friend, having discovered this, enhanced his price, acquainting them, "that if they would make him their own citizen, granting him a full participation of all privileges, he would comply, but not on any other terms." The Spartans, when they first heard this, were very indignant, and altogether slighted his prophetic skill; but at last, when great terror of this Persian army was hanging over them, they sent for him and assented. But he,

³ See B. II. chap. 164.

⁴ See B. VIII. chap. 113.

perceiving they had changed their minds, said he would no longer be contented with these things only, but that his brother Hegias must also be made a Spartan, on the same terms as himself. 34. In saying this he imitated Melampus, to compare a kingdom with citizenship in his demands. For Melampus also, the women at Argos being smitten with madness, when the Argives would have hired him from Pylus to cure their women of the disease, demanded one half of the kingdom for his recompence. But the Argives not yielding to his terms, but going away, when many more of their women became mad, they at length submitted to what Melampus demanded, and went to present it to him. But he thereupon, seeing them changed, coveted still more, saying, that "unless they would give a third part of the kingdom to his brother Bias, he would not do what they wished." The Argives, therefore, being driven to a strait, granted that also. 35. In like manner the Spartans, for they wanted Tisamenus exceedingly, yielded to him entirely: and when the Spartans had thus yielded to him, Tisamenus the Elean, having become a Spartan, accordingly assisted them by his art of divination in gaining five most important battles. These, then, were the only persons of all mankind who were made Spartan citizens. The five battles were as follows: one and the first, this at Plataea; next, that which took place at Tegea, against the Tegeans and Argives; afterwards, that at Dipaea, against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans; next, that of the Messenians, near Ithomæ; and the last, that which took place at Tanagra, against the Athenians and Argives: this was the last achieved of the five victories. 36. This Tisamenus, then, the Spartans bringing him, officiated as diviner to the Greeks at Plataea: now the sacrifices were favourable to the Greeks, if they stood on the defensive; but if they crossed the Asopus, and began the battle, not so.

37. To Mardonius, who was very desirous to begin the battle, the sacrifices were not propitious; but to him also, if he stood on the defensive, they were favourable: for he too adopted the Grecian sacrifices, having for his diviner Hegesistratus, an Elean, and the most renowned of the Telliadæ. This man, before these events, the Spartans had taken and bound for death, because they had suffered many and atrocious things from him. He being in this sad condition, as being in peril

for his life, and having to suffer many tortures before death, performed a deed beyond belief. For as he was confined in stocks bound with iron, he got possession of a knife, which had been by some means carried in, and immediately contrived the most resolute deed of all men we know of: for having considered in what way the rest of his foot would get out, he cut off the broad part of the foot; and having done this, as he was guarded by sentinels, he dug a hole through the wall and escaped to Tegea, travelling by night, and by day hiding himself in the woods and tarrying there. Thus, though the Lacedæmonians searched for him with their whole population, on the third night he arrived at Tegea; but they were struck with great amazement at his daring, when they saw half his foot lying on the ground, and were not able to find him. Thus Hegesistratus, having escaped from the Lacedæmonians, fled to Tegea, which was at that time not on friendly terms with the Lacedæmonians: and having been cured of his wounds, and procured a wooden foot, he became an avowed enemy to the Lacedæmonians. However, at last his hatred conceived against the Lacedæmonians did not benefit him; for he was taken by them when acting as diviner at Zacynthus, and put to death. Now the death of Hegesistratus took place after the battle of Plataea: but at that time, on the Asopus, being hired by Mardonius for no small sum, he sacrificed and was very zealous, both from hatred to the Lacedæmonians, and from a love of gain.

38. As the victims were not favourable for fighting, either to the Persians themselves, or the Greeks who were with them, (for they also had a diviner for themselves, Hippomachus, a Leucadian,) and as Greeks were flowing in, and their numbers increasing, Timagenides, son of Herpys, a Theban, advised Mardonius to guard the passes of Mount Cithæron; saying, that the Greeks were continually pouring in every day, and that he would intercept great numbers. 39. Eight days had already elapsed since they had been posted opposite each other, when he gave this advice to Mardonius. But he, perceiving that the suggestion was good, as soon as it was night, sent some cavalry to the passes of Cithæron, that lead to Plataea, which the Bœotians call The Three Heads; but the Athenians, The Heads of Oak. The horsemen that were sent did not arrive in vain; for issuing on the plain, they took five hun-

dred beasts carrying provisions from Peloponnesus to the army, with the men who attended the beasts of burden. The Persians, having taken this booty, killed them without mercy, sparing neither beast nor man: and when they had had enough of slaughter, they surrounded the rest of them, and drove them off to Mardonius and to the camp. 40. After this action they passed two more days, neither being willing to begin the battle; for the barbarians advanced as far as the Asopus, to tempt the Greeks, but neither crossed over. However, the cavalry of Mardonius continually pressed on and harassed the Greeks; for the Thebans, being entirely in the interest of the Medes, carried on the war with vigour, and constantly led on even to actual fighting; but after that the Persians and Medes, coming up, gave signal proofs of valour.

41. Accordingly, during the ten days nothing more than this took place; but when the eleventh day came after the two armies had been encamped opposite each other in Plataea, and the Greeks had become much more numerous, and Mardonius was exceedingly vexed at the delay, thereupon Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who was one of the Persians esteemed by Xerxes, came to a conference. And on consulting, the following were their opinions: that of Artabazus, that "it was expedient to remove their whole army away as quickly as possible, and march to the walls of Thebes, where a large store of provisions had been laid up for themselves, and forage for their horses; and that sitting down quietly they might accomplish their enterprise, by doing as follows: for, as they had much coined gold and much uncoined, and much silver and many goblets, they should spare none of these, but distribute them among the Greeks, especially among the principal men of the Greeks in the cities; and they would quickly surrender their liberty, nor run the hazard of an engagement." Thus his opinion was the same as that of the Thebans,⁵ since he had more foresight than the other.⁶ But the opinion of Mardonius was more violent, pertinacious, and by no means inclined to yielding. "For he thought that their army was far superior to the Grecian, and that they should engage as quickly as possible, and not suffer more to be assembled than were already assembled; and that

⁵ See chap. 2.

⁶ Mardonius.

they should dismiss the victims of Hegesistratus, and not do violence to them, but, following the usages of the Persians, to engage." 42. When he thus decided, no one contradicted him, so that his opinion prevailed, for he held the command of the army from the king, and not from Artabazus. Having therefore summoned the commanders of battalions, and the generals of the Greeks who were in his service, he asked if they knew any oracle respecting the Persians, *which predicted* that they should be destroyed. But when those who were convoked remained silent, some not knowing the oracles, and others knowing indeed, but not deeming it safe to mention them, Mardonius himself said, "Since you either know nothing, or dare not speak, I will tell you, as I know perfectly well. There is an oracle, *importing*, that the Persians arriving in Greece should sack the temple at Delphi, and after the sacking, all perish. We, therefore, being apprized of this, neither march against that temple, nor intend to sack it; and thus we shall not perish on that account. Let such of you, then, as are well affected to the Persians, rejoice on this account, that we shall vanquish the Greeks." Having said this to them, he next gave orders to get all things in readiness, and put them in good order, for that a battle would take place early the next morning. 43. This oracle, which Mardonius said related to the Persians, I know was delivered in reference to the Illyrians, and the army of the Enchelians, and not to the Persians. But the following had been delivered by Bacis in reference to this battle: "The meeting of the Greek and the barbarian-voiced shout on the Thermodon and grassy-banked Asopus; in which many of the bow-bearing Medes shall fall, despite of Lachesis and fate, when the destined day shall come." These, and others like these, I know were pronounced by Musæus in reference to the Persians; but the river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

44. After the inquiry respecting the oracles, and the exhortation given by Mardonius, night came on, and they set the watch. But when the night was far advanced, and silence appeared to prevail throughout the camps, and the men were in the most profound sleep, at that time Alexander, son of Amyntas, who was general and king of the Macedonians, having ridden up on horseback to the sentries of the Athenians, desired to confer with their generals. Most of the sentries re-

mained at their post, while some ran to the generals, and having arrived told them, "that a man had come on horseback from the camp of the Medes, who uttered not a word more, but, naming the generals, said he wished to confer with them."

45. When they heard this, they immediately followed to the out-posts; and on their arrival Alexander addressed them as follows: "O Athenians, I leave these words with you as a deposit, entreating you to keep them secret, and not tell them to any other than Pausanias, lest you should even ruin me. For I should not utter them, were I not extremely concerned for the safety of all Greece; for I am both myself a Grecian originally, and would by no means wish to see Greece enslaved instead of free. I tell you, then, that the victims have not been favourable to Mardonius and his army, or else you would have fought long ago; but now, he has determined to dismiss the victims, and to come to an engagement at dawn of day; fearing, as I conjecture, lest you should assemble in greater numbers. Therefore be ready. But if Mardonius should defer the engagement, and not undertake it, do you persevere remaining where you are, for in a few days provisions will fail him. And if this war should terminate according to your wishes, it is right that you should bear it in mind to effect my freedom, who on behalf of the Greeks have undertaken so hazardous a task, out of zeal for them, wishing to acquaint you with the intention of Mardonius, in order that the barbarians may not fall upon you unexpectedly. I am Alexander the Macedonian." - He, having spoken thus, rode back to the camp and his own station.

46. The generals of the Athenians, having gone to the right wing, told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander; but he, on receiving this intelligence, being in dread of the Persian, spoke thus: "Seeing an engagement will take place in the morning, it is proper that you Athenians should be placed opposite to the Persians, and we opposite to the Bœotians and those Grecians who are now drawn up opposite to you, for this reason: you are acquainted with the Medes, and their manner of fighting, having fought with them at Marathon; whereas we are inexperienced in and unacquainted with those men, for no Spartan has ever made trial of the Medes; but we have made trial of the Bœotians and Thes-salians. It is therefore right that you should take up your

arms and come to this wing, and we go to the left." To this the Athenians answered as follows: "To us also from the very first, when we saw the Persians drawn opposite to you, it occurred to mention the very thing which you have now been the first to propose; but we feared that the proposal might not be agreeable to you; since, however, you yourselves have mentioned it, the proposal is both agreeable to us, and we are ready to act accordingly. 47. As this pleased both parties, as soon as morning dawned they changed their stations: the Bœotians having perceived what was done, gave notice to Mardonius; and he, when he had heard it, immediately began to alter his order of battle, leading the Persians opposite to the Lacedæmonians. But when Pausanias observed that this was being done, perceiving that he was discovered, he led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius in like manner towards the left.

48. When they were stationed in their original positions, Mardonius, having sent a herald to the Spartans, spoke as follows: "O Lacedæmonians, you are said to be the bravest, by the people in these parts, who admire you exceedingly, because you neither fly from the field of battle, nor quit your ranks, but continuing firm, either kill your adversaries, or are killed yourselves. Of all this however nothing is true. For even before we engaged, and came to the decision of blows, we have seen you flying and quitting your ranks, leaving the first risk to the Athenians, and ranging yourselves against our slaves; this is by no means the conduct of brave men: we, then, have been very much deceived in you; for whereas we expected, on account of your renown, that you would have sent a herald to challenge us, and that you would be desirous of fighting with the Persians alone, though we were ready to accept these terms, we have found you proposing nothing of the kind, but rather shrinking from us. Now, therefore, since you have not begun this proposal, we will begin it; why, then, should not you, on the part of the Greeks, since you are deemed to be the bravest, and we, on the part of the barbarians, engage with equal numbers on both sides? If you think the rest ought also to fight, let them fight afterwards; but if you do not think so, and that we only are sufficient, we will fight it out; and whichever of us shall obtain the victory, let them be victorious for the whole army." 49. He having spoken thus,

and waited some time, when no one gave him any answer, returned back again, and on his arrival gave Mardonius an account of what had happened. But he, being above measure rejoiced and elated by a cold victory, sent his cavalry to charge the Greeks. When the horsemen rode up they harassed the whole Grecian army, hurling javelins and shooting arrows, since they were mounted archers, and very difficult to be brought to a close engagement; and they disturbed and choked up the fountain of Gargaphia, from which the whole Grecian army obtained water. Near this fountain the Lacedæmonians only were posted, but the fountain was farther off from the rest of the Greeks according as they severally happened to be stationed; but the Asopus was near. However, being repulsed from the Asopus, they then had recourse to the fountain; for it was impossible for them to get water from the river, by reason of the cavalry and the arrows.

50. When this happened, the generals of the Greeks, as the army was deprived of water and harassed by the cavalry, assembled together to deliberate on these and other matters, going to Pausanias on the right wing. For when these things were so, other circumstances troubled them still more; for they had no longer any provisions, and their attendants, who had been despatched to the Peloponnesus to get provisions, were shut out by the cavalry, and unable to reach the camp.

51. On consultation the generals resolved, if the Persians should defer making the attack on that day, to remove to the island. This island is ten stades distant from the Asopus and the fountain of Gargaphia, on which they were then encamped, before the city of the Platæans. Thus it is an island in the midst of the continent. For the river, dividing itself higher up, flows down to the plain from Mount Cithæron, having its streams about three stades separate from each other; and then they unite together, and the name of it is Oëroë; the inhabitants say that she is the daughter of Asopus. To this place they determined to remove, that they might have an abundant supply of water, and the cavalry might not harass them, as when they were directly opposite. They determined to remove when it should be the second watch of the night, in order that the Persians might not see them setting out, and the cavalry might not follow and annoy them. They also resolved, that when they should arrive at this spot which the Asopian Oëroë

encompasses flowing from Cithæron, they would on the same night send away one half of their forces to Cithæron, in order to bring in the attendants who had gone for provisions ; for they were shut up in Cithæron. 52. Having taken these resolutions, during the whole of that day, they suffered incessant labour by the cavalry pressing on them ; but when the day ended, and the cavalry had ceased to attack them, night having come, and it being the hour at which they had agreed to decamp, thereupon the greater part taking up their arms marched away, without any intention of going to the place agreed upon : whilst others, as soon as they were put in motion, gladly fled from the cavalry towards the city of the Plateæans ; and in their flight they arrived at the temple of Juno : it stands before the city of the Plateæans, twenty stades distant from the fountain of Gargaphia ; and having arrived there, they stood to their arms before the sacred precinct. 53. They then encamped round the Heræum ; and Pausanias, seeing them departing from the camp, ordered the Lacedæmonians also to take up their arms and go in the same direction as the others, supposing they were going to the place which they had agreed to go to. Whereupon all the other commanders of troops were ready to obey Pausanias ; but Amompharetus, son of Poliades, captain of the band of Pitaneæ, said, “ he would not fly from the foreigners, nor willingly bring disgrace on Sparta ; ” and he was astonished at seeing what was being done, because he had not been present at the preceding conference. Pausanias and Euryanax considered it a disgrace that he should not obey them, but still more disgraceful, when he⁷ had so resolved, to forsake the band of Pitaneæ, lest if they should forsake him in order to do what they had agreed on with the rest of the Grecians, Amompharetus himself, being left behind, and those with him should perish. Considering these things, they kept the Laconian forces unmoved, and endeavoured to persuade him that it was not right for him to do as he did.

54. They, then, were expostulating with Amompharetus, who alone of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans was left behind. But the Athenians did as follows : they kept themselves unmoved where they had been stationed, knowing the dispositions of the Lacedæmonians, who purpose one thing and say

⁷ Amompharetus.

another. When, therefore, the army was in motion, they sent one of their horsemen to see whether the Spartans were beginning to depart, or whether they did not intend to depart at all; and to inquire of Pausanias what it was right to do. 55. When the herald came up to the Lacedæmonians, he saw them drawn up in the same spot, and their chiefs engaged in disputes. For when Euryanax and Pausanias urged Amompharetus not to incur danger by remaining *with his men* alone of all the Lacedæmonians, they were by no means able to prevail with him, until they fell into an open quarrel; and the herald of the Athenians having come up stood by them. And Amompharetus quarrelling, took up a stone with both his hands, and laying it down at the feet of Pausanias, said, "With this pebble I give my vote, not to fly from the foreigners;" by foreigners meaning the barbarians. But Pausanias, calling him a mad-man and out of his senses, then turned to the herald of the Athenians, who was making the inquiry he had been ordered to make, and bade him inform them of the present posture of affairs, and entreated the Athenians to come over to them, and act, in relation to the departure, just as they should. 56. He accordingly went back to the Athenians. But when morning found them still disputing with one another, Pausanias, having stayed during all that time, and supposing (as indeed happened) that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedæmonians were gone, having given the signal, led all the rest away along the hills; and the Tegeans followed. But the Athenians, drawn up in order of battle, marched by a different way from the Lacedæmonians; for they kept to the rising ground and the base of Cithæron, through fear of the cavalry; but the Athenians took their route towards the plain. 57. But Amompharetus, thinking that Pausanias would on no account dare to forsake them, was very earnest that they should remain there and not abandon their post; but when those with Pausanias had advanced some distance, supposing that they were in real earnest deserting him, he *ordered* his band to take up their arms, and led them slowly towards the main body; which, having marched about ten stades, waited for the band of Amompharetus, halting at the river Moloeis, at a place called Argiopius, where stands a temple of Eleusinian Ceres; and they waited there for this reason, that if Amompharetus and his band

should not leave the post in which they had been stationed, but should remain there, they might go back to their assistance. However, those with Amompharetus came up; and the whole of the barbarian's cavalry pressed upon them. For the horsemen did as they were always accustomed to do; but seeing the place empty in which the Greeks had been drawn up on the preceding days, they pushed on continually in advance, and as soon as they overtook them, they pressed them closely.

58. Mardonius, when he was informed that the Grecians had withdrawn under cover of night, and saw the place deserted, having summoned Thorax of Larissa, and his brothers Eurypilus and Thrasydæus, said: "O sons of Aleuas, what will you say now, when you see this ground deserted? For you, their neighbours, said that the Lacedæmonians never fled from battle, but were the first of men in matters of war; these, whom you before saw changing their station, and who now we all see have fled away during the past night. They have clearly shown, when they had to come to the issue of battle with those who are truly the most valiant in the world, that being themselves good for nothing, they have gained distinction among worthless Greeks. And I readily forgave you, who are unacquainted with the Persians, when you extolled them by whom you knew something had been done: but I wondered more at Artabazus, that he should dread the Lacedæmonians, and dreading them, should have advanced a most cowardly opinion, that it was expedient to remove our camp, and retire to the city of the Thebans to be besieged: of this the king shall hereafter hear from me. But these matters will be discussed elsewhere. For the present, we must not suffer them to do what they intend, but they must be pursued, until they shall be overtaken, and have given us satisfaction for all the mischief they have done to the Persians." 59. Having spoken thus, he led the Persians at full speed, crossing the Asopus in the track of the Greeks, as if they had betaken themselves to flight; he directed his course only against the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans; for on account of the hills he did not discern the Athenians, who had turned into the plain. The rest of the commanders of the barbarian's brigades, seeing the Persians advancing to pursue the Greeks, all immediately took up their standards, and pursued, each as

quick as he could, without observing either rank or order: thus they advanced with a shout and in a throng, as if they were about to overwhelm the Greeks.

60. Pausanias, when the cavalry pressed on him, having despatched a horseman to the Athenians with this message, spoke as follows: "Men of Athens, when the mighty contest lies before us, whether Greece shall be free or enslaved, we are betrayed by the allies, (both we Lacedæmonians and you Athenians,) who have fled away during the past night. It is now, therefore, determined what we must henceforth do; for defending ourselves in the best manner we can, we must support each other. Now if the cavalry had attacked you first, it would have behoved us and the Tegeans, who with us have not betrayed Greece, to assist you. But now, since the whole body has advanced against us, you ought in justice to come to the succour of that division which is most hardly pressed. If, however, any inability to assist has befallen you, you will confer a favour on us by sending your archers to us. We are aware of your being by far the most zealous in this present war, so as in this instance to listen to our request." 61. When the Athenians heard this, they prepared to assist, and to defend them to the utmost of their power; but as they were already on their way, those of the Greeks who sided with the king, that were arrayed against them, attacked them, so that they were no longer able to render assistance; for the division that pressed upon them harassed them. Thus the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans being left alone, the former with the light-armed men, amounting in number to fifty thousand, and the Tegeans to three thousand, (for these last had never separated from the Lacedæmonians,) performed sacrifices, purposing to engage with Mardonius and the forces with him. But as the victims were not favourable to them, many of them fell during this interval, and many more were wounded; for the Persians, having made a fence with their osier-shields, let fly a number of arrows so incessantly, that, the Spartans being hard-pressed, and the victims continuing unfavourable, Pausanias, looking towards the temple of Juno of the Plataeans, invoked the goddess, praying that they might not be disappointed of their hopes.

62. While he was yet making this invocation, the Tegeans, starting first, advanced against the barbarians; and immedi-

ately after the prayer of Pausanias, the victims became favourable to the Lacedæmonians when they sacrificed. When some time had elapsed, they also advanced against the Persians, and the Persians withstood them, laying aside their bows. First of all a battle took place about the fence of bucklers; and when that was thrown down, an obstinate fight ensued near the temple of Ceres, and for a long time, till at last they came to a close conflict: for the barbarians laying hold of the *enemy's* spears, broke them. And indeed, in courage and strength, the Persians were not inferior; but being lightly armed, they were moreover ignorant of military discipline, and not equal to their adversaries in skill; but rushing forward singly, or in tens, or more or fewer in a body, they fell upon the Spartans and perished. 63. In that part where Mardonius happened to be, fighting from a white horse, at the head of a thousand chosen men, the best of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries most vigorously. For as long as Mardonius survived, they held out, and defending themselves overthrew many of the Lacedæmonians; but when Mardonius had died, and the troops stationed round him, which were the strongest, had fallen, then the rest turned to flight, and gave way to the Lacedæmonians. Their dress, too, was particularly disadvantageous to them, being destitute of defensive armour; for being light-armed, they had to contend with heavy-armed men. 64. Here satisfaction for the death of Leonidas, according to the oracle, was paid to the Spartans by Mardonius; and Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, son to Anaxandrides, obtained the most signal victory of all that we know of. (The names of his earlier ancestors have been mentioned in the genealogy of Leonidas;⁸ for they were the same.) Mardonius died by the hand of Aimnestus, a man of distinction at Sparta, who, some time after the Medic affairs, at the head of three hundred men, engaged at Stenyclerus with all the Messenians, there being war; and he himself perished and his three hundred. 65. The Persians at Plataæ, when they were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, fled in disorder to their own camp, and to the wooden fortification which they had made in the Theban territory. It is a wonder to me, that, when they fought near the grove of Ceres, not one of the barbarians was seen to enter into the sacred enclosure, or to die in it, but most fell

⁸ See B. VII. chap. 204.

round the precinct in unconsecrated ground. I am of opinion, if it is allowable to form an opinion concerning divine things, that the goddess would not receive them, because they had burnt her royal temple at Eleusis. Such was the issue of this battle.

66. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, from the very first had disapproved of Mardonius being left by the king, and at that time, though he strongly dissuaded him, he could not prevail, urging him not to engage. He therefore acted as follows, being displeased with the conduct of Mardonius. Those whom Artabazus commanded, (and he had no small force, but to the number of forty thousand men with him,) these, as soon as the action commenced, well knowing what the result of the battle would be, he drew up in order and advanced, having ordered them to go where he should lead, whenever they should see him advancing at a quick pace; having given this order, he led his forces as if to join in the engagement: but being in advance of his troops, he discovered the Persians flying; whereupon, he no longer led his forces in the same order, but fled with all possible speed; neither towards the wooden fortification nor the walls of Thebes, but to the Phocians, wishing to reach the Hellespont as soon as he could. These, then, took that direction. 67. Although the rest of the Greeks in the king's army behaved themselves ill on purpose, the Bœotians fought with the Athenians for a considerable time. For those Thebans who sided with the Mede displayed no little zeal, fighting and not willingly behaving ill, so that three hundred of them, the first and most valiant, fell there by the hands of the Athenians: but when they also were put to flight, they fled to Thebes, not as the Persians fled, and the whole throng of the other allies, without having fought at all, or performed any thing considerable. 68. And it is manifest to me that on the side of the barbarians all depended on the Persians, since the others, before they engaged with the enemy, fled at once, because they saw the Persians flying. Accordingly all fled, except the rest of the cavalry and especially the Bœotian: they so far assisted the fugitives, keeping constantly close to them against the enemy, and separating their friends who were flying, from the Greeks. 69. The victors however followed, pursuing and slaying the soldiers of Xerxes. In the midst of this rout news came to the rest of the Greeks who were drawn

up about the Heraeum, and were absent from the battle, that a battle had been fought, and Pausanias's party were victorious. When they heard this, without observing any kind of order, the Corinthians took the road that leads by the base of the mountain and the hills direct to the temple of Ceres, and the Megarians and the Phliasians the most level of the roads across the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were near the enemy, the Theban cavalry seeing them hurrying on without any order, charged them with the horse, which Asopodorus, son of Timander, commanded; and having fallen on them they threw down and killed six hundred of them, and pursuing the rest, drove them headlong to Mount Cithæron. Thus they perished ingloriously.

70. The Persians and the rest of the throng, when they arrived in their flight at the wooden wall, mounted the towers before the Lacedæmonians came up, and having mounted it, defended the wall in the best way they could; so that when the Lacedæmonians arrived, a vigorous battle took place before the walls. For so long as the Athenians were absent, the barbarians defended themselves, and had much the advantage over the Lacedæmonians, as they were not skilled in attacking fortifications; but when the Athenians came up, then a vehement fight at the walls took place, and continued for a long time. But at length the Athenians, by their valour and constancy, surmounted the wall, and made a breach; there at length the Greeks poured in. The Tegeans entered first within the wall; and these were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, and among other things took away the manger for the horses, all of brass, and well worth seeing: this manger of Mardonius the Tegeans placed in the temple of the Alean Minerva; but all the other things they took, they carried to the same place as the rest of the Greeks. The barbarians, when the wall had fallen, no longer kept in close order, nor did any one think of valour; but they were in a state of consternation, as so many myriads of men were enclosed within a small space; and the Greeks had such an easy opportunity of slaughtering them, that of an army of three hundred thousand men, except the forty thousand with which Artabazus fled, not three thousand survived. Of Lacedæmonians from Sparta, all that died in the engagement were ninety-one; of Tegeans, sixteen; and of Athenians, fifty-two.

71. Of the barbarians, the infantry of the Persians and the cavalry of the Sacæ most distinguished themselves ; and Mardonius is said to have shown himself the bravest man. Of the Greeks, though the Tegeans and Athenians showed great bravery, the Lacedæmonians exceeded in valour. I can prove this in no other way, (for all these conquered those opposed to them,) except that they were engaged with the strongest part of the enemy's army, and conquered them. And in my opinion Aristodemus proved himself by far the bravest : he being the only one of the three hundred saved from Thermopylæ, was held in disgrace and dishonour. After him, Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan, most distinguished themselves. However, when it was debated which of them had been the bravest, the Spartans who were present decided, that Aristodemus, evidently wishing to die on account of the disgrace attached to him, and acting like a madman, and leaving the ranks, had performed great deeds ; but that Posidonius, not wishing to die, had shown himself a brave man ; and therefore that he was the better. Perhaps, however, they may have said this through envy. All these that I have mentioned, except Aristodemus, of those that died in this battle, were honoured, but Aristodemus, wishing to die on account of the before-mentioned guilt, was not honoured. 72. These, then, were they who acquired the greatest renown at Plataæ. For Callicratides died out of the battle, who came to the army the handsomest man of the Greeks of that day, not only of the Lacedæmonians themselves, but also of the other Greeks ; he, when Pausanias was sacrificing, was wounded in the side by an arrow ; and then they fought, but he being carried off, regretted his death, and said to Arimnestus a Platæan, that he did not grieve at dying for Greece, but at not having used his arm, and at not having performed any deed worthy of himself, though he desired to perform it. 73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes, son of Eutyichides, of the borough of Decelea, is said to have acquired great renown ; of the Deceleans, who had once performed an action that was beneficial for all future time, as the Athenians themselves say. For in ancient time, when the Tyndaridæ entered the Attic territory with a numerous army in search of Helen, and drove out the people, not knowing where Helen had been carried to, then they say that the Deceleans, but some say that Decelus himself, being in-

dignant at the insolence of Theseus, and alarmed for the whole country of the Athenians, discovered the whole matter to them, and conducted them to Aphidnæ, which Titacus, a native of the place, delivered up to the Tyndaridæ. In consequence of that action, the Deceleans in Sparta continue to enjoy immunity from tribute and precedence up to the present time, so that in the war that occurred many years after these events between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, when the Lacedæmonians ravaged the rest of Attica, they abstained from Decelea. 74. Of this borough was Sophanes, and having at that time distinguished himself above all the Athenians, he has two different accounts given of him. One, that he carried an iron anchor fastened by a brass chain from the girdle of his cuirass ; which, when he approached the enemy, he used to throw out, in order that the enemy, rushing from their ranks, might not be able to move him from his position ; and when the flight of his adversaries took place, he determined to take up the anchor and so pursue. Thus this account is given. But the other account, varying from that before given, relates, that on his shield, which constantly turned round and was never at rest, he wore an anchor as a device, and not one of iron fastened from his cuirass. 75. There is also another splendid feat done by Sophanes, for that when the Athenians invested Ægina, he challenged and slew Eurybates of Argos, who had been victor in the pentathlum. But some time after these events it befel this Sophanes, who proved himself a brave man, as he was commanding the Athenians jointly with Leagrus, son of Glaucou, to die at the hands of the Edoni at Datus, as he was fighting for the gold mines.

76. When the barbarians were overthrown by the Greeks at Platæa, thereupon a woman came voluntarily over to them ; who, when she learnt that the Persians had perished, and that the Greeks were victorious, being a concubine of Pharandates, son of Theaspes, a Persian, having decked herself and her attendants in much gold, and in the richest attire she had, alighted from her carriage, and advanced towards the Lacedæmonians, who were still employed in slaughter, and when she observed that Pausanias directed every thing, having before become acquainted with his name and country, since she had often heard of them, she knew it must be Pausanias, and embracing his knees, spoke as follows : “ King of Sparta, de-

liver me, your suppliant, from captive servitude; for you have thus far benefited me, by destroying these men, who pay no regard either to gods or heroes. I am by birth a Coan, daughter to Hegetorides, son of Antagoras. The Persian having taken me away by force at Cos, kept me." He answered as follows: "Lady, be of good heart, both as a suppliant, and moreover, if you have spoken the truth, and are indeed the daughter of Hegetorides the Coan, who is the best friend I have of all who dwell in those parts." Having thus spoken, he committed her to the care of the ephori, who were present; and afterwards sent her to Ægina, where she herself wished to go. 77. Presently after the arrival of the lady, the Mantineans came up when all was over; and finding they were come too late for the engagement, they considered it a great calamity, and confessed that they deserved to be punished. But being informed that the Medes with Artabazus had fled, they wished to pursue them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacedæmonians dissuaded them from pursuing the fugitives. They therefore, having returned to their own country, banished the generals of their army from the land. After the Mantineans came the Eleans: and the Eleans, in the same manner as the Mantineans, considering it a calamity, marched away; and they also on their return home banished their generals. Such were the events relating to the Mantineans and Eleans.

78. In the camp of the Æginetæ at Platæa, was Lampon, son of Pytheas, one of the most eminent of the Æginetæ: he having a most iniquitous proposal *to make*, went to Pausanias; and having come into his presence, spoke with earnestness as follows: "Son of Cleombrotus, a superhuman feat has been achieved by you, both on account of its greatness and splendour; and God has granted to you, by delivering Greece, to acquire the greatest renown of all the Greeks whom we know of. But do you complete what remains to be done after this, in order that still greater fame may attend you, and henceforth every barbarian may beware of attempting to do wicked deeds against the Greeks. For when Leonidas died at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes, having cut off his head, fixed it on a pole. By requiting him in the same manner, you will have praise first from all the Spartans, and then from the rest of the Greeks. For by impaling Mardonius, you will avenge your uncle Leonidas." He spoke thus,

thinking to gratify *Pausanias*. 79. But he answered as follows: "Æginetan friend, I admire your good intentions and your foresight; but you have failed to form a right judgment; for having highly extolled me, my country, and my achievement, you have thrown all down again to nothing, by advising me to insult a dead body, and saying, that if I do so I shall increase my fame, which is more fit for barbarians to do than Greeks, and which we abhor even in them. I cannot therefore in this matter please the Æginetæ, nor those to whom such things would be pleasing; it is sufficient for me to please the Spartans, by doing and speaking what is right. As for Leonidas, whose death you exhort me to avenge, I affirm, that he has been amply avenged; both he and all the others who fell at Thermopylæ, have been avenged by the countless deaths of these men. However, do not you hereafter come to me with such a proposal, nor give such advice; and be thankful that you escape unpunished." He having received this answer, went away.

80. Pausanias, having made proclamation that no one should touch the booty, commanded the helots to bring together all the treasures. They accordingly, dispersing themselves through the camp, found tents decked with gold and silver, and couches gilt, and plated and golden bowls, and cups and other drinking vessels; they also found sacks on the waggon in which were discovered gold and silver caldrons: and from the bodies that lay dead they stripped bracelets, necklaces, and scymetars of gold; but no account at all was taken of the variegated apparel. Here the helots stole a great deal and sold it to the Æginetæ, and they also produced a great deal, such of it as they could not conceal: so that the great wealth of the Æginetæ hence had its beginning, for that they purchased gold from the helots as if it had been brass. 81. Having collected the treasures together, and taken from them a tithe for the god at Delphi, from which the golden tripod was dedicated, which stands on the three-headed brazen serpent, close to the altar; and having taken out a *tithe* for the god at Olympia, from which they dedicated the brazen Jupiter, ten cubits high; and a *tithe* to the god at the Isthmus, from which was made the brazen Neptune, seven cubits high; having taken out these, they divided the rest, and each took the share they were entitled to, as well the concubines of the Persians,

as the gold, silver, and other treasures, and beasts of burden. Now what choice presents were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Plataea, is mentioned by no one; yet I am of opinion that such presents were given to them. But for Pausanias ten of every thing was selected and given him, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other treasures in like manner. 82. It is said also that the following occurred: that Xerxes, flying from Greece, left all his own equipage to Mardonius; Pausanias, therefore, seeing Mardonius's equipage furnished with gold, silver, and various-coloured hangings, ordered the bakers and cooks to prepare a supper in the same manner as for Mardonius: and when they being ordered had so done, that Pausanias thereupon, seeing gold and silver couches handsomely carved, and gold and silver tables, and magnificent preparations for the supper, being astonished at the profusion set before him, in derision ordered his own attendants to prepare a Laconian supper; and that when the repast was spread, the difference was great, and Pausanias laughing sent for the generals of the Greeks; and when they had assembled, Pausanias, pointing to each preparation for supper, said, "Men of Greece, I have called you together for this reason, to show you the folly of the leader of the Medes; who having such fare as this, has come to us, who have such poor fare, to take it from us." It is related that Pausanias said this to the generals of the Greeks. 83. A considerable time after these events, many of the Plataeans found chests of gold and silver, and other precious things. And still later than this, the following also was discovered, when the bodies were bared of flesh; for the Plataeans brought together the bones to one place; there was found a skull without any seam, consisting of one bone; there was also discovered a jaw, and the upper jaw had teeth growing in a piece, all in one bone, both the front teeth and the grinders; there was likewise discovered the skeleton of a man five cubits high.

84. The next day after, the body of Mardonius had disappeared; by whom *removed*, I am unable to say for certain. I have indeed heard of many men and of various nations, who are said to have buried Mardonius, and I know that several have received large presents from Artontes, son of Mardonius, for so doing. Yet who of them it was that carried off and buried the body of Mardonius, I am unable to ascertain

with certainty. However, Dionysiophanes, an Ephesian, is commonly reported to have buried Mardonius. Thus, then, he was buried. 85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the booty at Plataea, buried their own dead, each nation separately. The Lacedæmonians made three graves; there, then, they buried the young officers,⁹ amongst whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Phylocion, and Callicrates; accordingly in one of the graves the young officers were laid; in another, the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the helots: thus they buried *their dead*. The Tegeans *buried* all theirs together, in a separate spot; and the Athenians, theirs in one place; as also did the Megareans and Phliasians, those that had been destroyed by the cavalry. Of all these, therefore, the sepulchres were full. But of all the others whose sepulchres are seen in Plataea, they, as I am informed, being ashamed of their absence from the battle, severally threw up empty mounds, for the sake of future generations. For instance, there is a sepulchre there called that of the Æginetans, which, I hear, Cleades, son of Autodicus, a Plataean, who was their friend, threw up ten years after these events, at the request of the Æginetans.

86. When the Greeks had buried their dead in Plataea, they immediately determined, on consultation, to march against Thebes, and to demand the surrender of those who had sided with the Medes, and amongst the first of them Timegenides and Attaginus, who were the chief leaders, and if they should not give them up, *they resolved* not to depart from the city before they had taken it. When they had determined on this, they thereupon, in the eleventh day after the engagement, arrived and besieged the Thebans, requiring them to give up the men. And when the Thebans refused to give them up, they both ravaged their country, and attacked the walls. 87. As they did not cease damaging them, on the twentieth day Timegenides spoke thus to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not give over besieging us until either they have taken Thebes, or you have delivered us up to them, let not the Bœotian territory suffer any more on our account. But if, being desirous of money,

⁹ Ἰπείρες were those who had attained their second year from boyhood, and now held a command. The MSS. read, ἱπείας, "those who held sacred offices."

they demand us as a pretence, let us give them money from the public treasury ; for we sided with the Mede by general consent, and not of ourselves alone. If, however, they carry on the siege really because they want us, we will present ourselves before them to plead our cause." He appeared to speak well and to the purpose ; and the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, expressing their willingness to surrender the men. 88. When they had agreed on these terms, Attaginus escaped from the city, and his sons, who were brought before him, Pausanias acquitted from the charge, saying that boys could have no part in the guilt of siding with the Mede. As to the others whom the Thebans delivered up, they thought that they should be admitted to plead their cause, and moreover trusted to repel the charge by bribery ; but he, as soon as he had them in his power, suspecting this very thing, dismissed the whole army of the allies, and conducting the men to Corinth, put them to death. Such were the events at Platæa and Thebes.

89. In the mean time Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, flying from Platæa, was already at a considerable distance. And on his arrival amongst them, the Thessalians invited him to an entertainment, and asked him news of the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had happened in Platæa. But Artabazus, being aware that if he should tell the whole truth respecting the conflicts, both he and his army would be in danger of destruction, for he thought that every one would attack him, when informed of what had happened ;—considering this, he told nothing to the Phocians, and to the Thessalians he spoke as follows : " I, O men of Thessaly, as you see, am hastening my march to Thrace with the utmost expedition, and am using all possible diligence, having been sent on certain business with these forces from the army. Mardonius himself and his army may be expected following close on my heels. Entertain him also, and do him all the good offices you can ; for you will never have cause to repent of doing so." Having said this, he marched his army with all speed through Thessaly and Macedonia direct towards Thrace, making all the haste he could, and cutting across by the inland road. At last he reached Byzantium, having left many of his men behind, partly cut off by the Thracians on the march, and partly having to contend with hunger and fatigue. From Byzan-

tium he crossed over in boats. Thus, then, he returned to Asia.

90. On the same day on which the defeat at Plataea occurred, another happened to take place at Mycale in Ionia. For while the Greeks¹ were stationed at Delos, those who had gone there on ship-board with Leotychides the Lacedæmonian, there came to them as ambassadors from Samos, Lampon, son of Thrasykleus, Athenagoras, son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, being sent by the Samians, unknown to the Persians and the tyrant Theomestor, son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made tyrant of Samos. When they came to the generals, Hegesistratus used many and various arguments, and that "if only the Ionians should see them, they would revolt from the Persians, and that the barbarians would not withstand them; or if they should withstand them, the Greeks would not find any other such booty." Invoking, too, their common gods, he besought them to deliver Grecian men from servitude, and to repel the barbarian; and he said, "that this would be easy for them to do, for that their ships sailed badly, and were not fit to fight with them; and, if they suspected at all that they were leading them on deceitfully, they were themselves ready to go on board their ships as hostages." 91. As the Samian stranger was earnest in his entreaties, Leotychides, either wishing to hear for the sake of the presage, or by chance, the deity so directing it, asked: "O Samian friend, what is your name?" He answered: "Hegesistratus;" upon which he, interrupting the rest of his discourse, if Hegesistratus intended to add more, said: "I accept² the Hegesistratus, my Samian friend; only do you take care that before you sail away, both you yourself and those who are with you, pledge your faith that the Samians will be zealous allies to us." 92. He at the same time said this, and added the deed. For the Samians immediately pledged their faith and made oath of confederacy with the Greeks: and having done this, the others sailed home, but he ordered Hegesistratus to sail with the fleet, regarding his name as an omen. The Greeks, therefore, having tarried that day, on the next sacrificed auspiciously, Deiphonus, son of Evenius, of Apollonia in the Ionian gulf, acting as diviner.

¹ See B. VIII. chap. 131, 132.

² Hegesistratus means, "leader of an army."

93. The following incident befel his father, Evenius. There are in this Apollonia sheep sacred to the sun, which by day feed near the river that flows from Mount Lacmon through the Apollonian territory into the sea, near the port of Oricus; but by night, chosen men, the most eminent of the citizens for wealth and birth, keep watch over them, each for a year: for the Apollonians set a high value upon these sheep, in consequence of some oracle. They are folded in a cavern at a distance from the city. There, then, on a time, Evenius, being chosen, kept watch, and one night when he had fallen asleep during his watch, wolves entered the cave, and destroyed about sixty of the sheep. He, when he discovered what had happened, kept silence, and mentioned it to no one, purposing to buy others, and put them in their place. This occurrence, however, did not escape the notice of the Apollonians; but as soon as they discovered it, having brought him to trial, they gave sentence that, for having fallen asleep during his watch, he should be deprived of sight. When they had blinded Evenius, from that time forward neither did their sheep bring forth, nor did the land yield its usual fruit. An admonition was given them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets the cause of the present calamities; they told them, "that they had unjustly deprived Evenius, the keeper of the sacred sheep, of his sight; for that they themselves had sent the wolves, and would not cease avenging him, until they should give such satisfaction for what they had done, as he himself should choose, and think sufficient: and when they had done this, the gods themselves would give such a present to Evenius, that most men would pronounce him happy, from possessing it." 94. This answer was delivered to them: and the Apollonians, having kept it secret, deputed some of their citizens to negotiate the matter; and they negotiated it for them in the following manner. When Evenius was seated on a bench, they went and sat down by him, and conversed on different subjects, till at length they began to commiserate his misfortune, and having in this way artfully led him on, they asked, "what reparation he would choose, if the Apollonians were willing to give him satisfaction for what they had done." He, not having heard of the oracle, made his choice, saying, "if any one would give him the lands of certain citizens," naming those who he knew had the two best estates in Apol-

lonia; "and besides these a house," which he knew was the handsomest in the city; "if put in possession of these," he said, "he would thenceforth forego his anger, and this reparation would content him." He accordingly spoke thus; and those who sat by him, immediately taking hold of his answer, said, "the Apollonians make you this reparation for the loss of your eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have received." He thereupon was very indignant, on hearing the whole truth, as having been deceived; but the Apollonians, having bought them from the owners, gave him what he chose; and immediately after this, he had the gift of divination implanted in him, so that he became celebrated.

95. Deiphonus, who was the son of this Evenius, the Corinthians having brought him, officiated as diviner to the army. Yet I have heard this also, that Deiphonus, having assumed the name of Evenius's son, let out his services for hire throughout Greece, though he was not really the son of Evenius.

96. When, therefore, the sacrifices were favourable to the Greeks, they got their ships under weigh from Delos for Samos: and when they were off Calami of the Ionian territory, having taken up their station there near the temple of Juno on that coast, they made ready for an engagement. But the Persians, being informed that they were sailing towards them, on their part also got the other ships under weigh for the continent, and permitted those of the Phœnicians to sail home. For on consultation, they determined not to come to an engagement by sea, because they thought they were not equal. They, therefore, sailed away to the continent, that they might be under the protection of their land-forces that were at Mycale, which by the order of Xerxes had been left behind by the rest of the army, and guarded Ionia; their number was sixty thousand; Tigranes commanded them, who surpassed the Persians in beauty and stature. Under the protection of this army the commanders of the navy resolved, having fled, to draw their ships on shore, and to throw up a rampart, as a defence for the ships, and a place of refuge for themselves.

97. Having taken this resolution, they got under weigh: and having passed by the temple of the Eumenides in Mycale, they came to the Gæson and Scolopis, where is a temple of Eleusinian Ceres, which Philistus, son of Pasicles, built, who accompanied Neleus, son of Codrus, for the purpose of found-

ing Miletus: there they drew their ships on shore, and threw up a rampart of stone and wood, having cut down the fruit-trees, and around the rampart they drove in sharp stakes. They made preparations to sustain a siege, and to gain a victory, both one and the other; for they made their preparations deliberately.

98. The Greeks, when they learnt that the barbarians had gone to the continent, were vexed that they had escaped; and were in doubt what to do, whether they should return home, or sail to the Hellespont: at length they determined to do neither of these, but to sail to the continent: having therefore prepared for a sea-fight both boarding-ladders, and all other things that were necessary, they sailed to Mycale. When they were near the camp, and no one was seen ready to meet them, but they beheld the ships drawn up within the fortification, and a numerous land-force disposed along the beach, thereupon Leotychides, advancing first in a ship, and nearing the beach as much as possible, made proclamation by a herald to the Ionians, saying, "Men of Ionia, as many of you as hear me, attend to what I say; for the Persians will understand nothing of the advice I give you. When we engage, it behoves every one first of all to remember Liberty; and next the watch-word, Hebe; and let him who does not hear this, learn it from those who do hear." The meaning of this proceeding was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemisium; for either these words, being concealed from the barbarians, would induce the Ionians to revolt, or if they should be reported to the barbarians, would make them distrustful of the Greeks. 99. Leotychides, having made this suggestion, the Grecians in the next place did as follows: putting their ships to shore they landed on the beach, and drew up in order of battle. But the Persians, when they saw the Greeks preparing themselves for action, and *knew* that they had admonished the Ionians, in the first place suspecting that the Samians favoured the Greeks, took away their arms; for when the Athenian captives, whom, being left in Attica, the forces of Xerxes had taken, arrived in the ships of the barbarians, having ransomed them all, they sent them back to Athens, furnishing them with provisions for the voyage: on this account they were under no slight suspicion, having redeemed five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes. In the next place,

the passes that lead to the heights of Mycale they appointed the Milesians to guard, because forsooth they were best acquainted with the country, but they did it for this purpose, that they might be at a distance from the army. Those of the Ionians, then, who they suspected might attempt something new if they had the power, the Persians took such precautions against; and they themselves brought their bucklers together, to serve as a rampart.

100. When, therefore, the Greeks were prepared, they advanced towards the barbarians; and as they were marching, a rumour flew through the whole army, and a herald's staff was seen lying on the beach: the rumour that spread among them was this, that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia. Thus the interposition of heaven is manifest by many plain signs; since on this same day on which the defeat at Plataea took place, and when that at Mycale was just about to happen, a rumour reached the Greeks in this latter place; so that the army was inspired with much greater courage, and was more eager to meet danger. 101. There was also this other coincidence, namely, that there was a temple of Eleusinian Ceres near both the engagements. For at Plataea, as I have already said, the battle took place near the temple of Ceres; and at Mycale it was about to happen in like manner. The rumour that a victory had been obtained by the Greeks under Pausanias, turned out to be correct; for the battle of Plataea was fought while it was yet early in the day, and that of Mycale towards evening: and that both happened on the same day of the same month, not long afterwards became manifest on inquiry. Before the rumour reached them, great alarm prevailed amongst them, not so much for themselves, as for the Greeks, lest Greece should stumble in the contest with Mardonius. When, however, this report flew amongst them, they advanced with greater readiness and alacrity. Accordingly the Greeks and the barbarians hastened to the battle, as both the islands and the Hellespont were held out as the reward of victory.

102. The Athenians, and those who were drawn up next them, forming about half the army, had to advance along the shore over level ground; but the Lacedæmonians, and those drawn up near them, along a ravine and some hills. So that whilst the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, those in the

other wing were already engaged. Now, so long as the bucklers of the Persians remained standing, they defended themselves strenuously, and had not the worst of the battle; but when the Athenians and those next them, having mutually encouraged one another, in order that the victory might belong to them, and not the Lacedæmonians, applied with more vigour to the battle, then the face of affairs immediately changed; for having broke through the bucklers, they fell in a body on the Persians; and they having sustained their attack and defended themselves for a considerable time, at last fled to the fortification. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, for thus they were drawn up in order, following close upon them, rushed into the fortification at the same time. When, therefore, the fortification was taken, the barbarians no longer thought of resisting, but all except the Persians betook themselves to flight; they, in small detachments, fought with the Greeks who were continually rushing within the fortification. And of the Persian generals, two made their escape, and two died. Artayntes and Ithramitres, commanders of the naval forces, escaped; but Mardontes, and Tigranes, general of the land army, died fighting. 103. While the Persians were still fighting, the Lacedæmonians and those with them came up, and assisted in accomplishing the rest. Of the Greeks themselves many fell on this occasion; both others, and especially the Sicyonians, and their general Perilaus. The Samians, who were in the camp of the Medes, and had been deprived of their arms, as soon as they saw the battle turning, did all they could, wishing to help the Greeks; and the rest of the Ionians, seeing the Samians lead the way, thereupon revolted from the Persians and attacked the barbarians. 104. The Milesians had been appointed to guard the passes for the Persians, in order for their safety, to the end that, if that should befall them which did befall them, they might, having guides, get safe to the heights of Mycale. The Milesians accordingly had been appointed to this service for this reason, and in order that, by being present in the army, they might not form any new design. They, however, did every thing contrary to what was ordered; both guiding them in their flight by other ways which led to the enemy, and at last themselves became most hostile in slaying them. Thus Ionia

revolted a second time³ from the Persians. 105. In this battle of the Greeks, the Athenians most distinguished themselves ; and of the Athenians, Hermolycus, son of Euthynus, who had practised in the pancratium : it befel this Hermolycus after these events, when there was war between the Athenians and the Carystians, to die fighting at Cynus of the Carystian territory, and to be buried at Geræstus. After the Athenians, the Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians distinguished themselves. 106. When the Grecians had killed most of the barbarians, some fighting and others flying, they burnt the ships and the whole fortification, having first brought out all the booty on the beach ; and they found several chests of money, and having burnt the fortification and the ships they sailed away. The Greeks, having arrived at Samos, consulted about transplanting the Ionians, and in what part of Greece, of which they themselves were masters, it would be best to settle them, *intending* to leave Ionia to the barbarians : for it was clearly impossible for them to protect and guard the Ionians for ever ; and if they did not protect them, they had no hope that the Ionians would escape unpunished by the Persians. Upon this it seemed expedient to the men of rank among the Peloponnesians to remove the marts of the Grecian nations that had sided with the Medes, and give their territory to the Ionians to inhabit ; but it did not appear at all expedient to the Athenians that the Ionians should be removed, or that the Peloponnesians should give advice respecting their colonies. However, as they opposed, the Peloponnesians readily gave way : and accordingly they took into the alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who were then serving with the Greeks, binding them by pledges and oaths that they would remain firm and not revolt : when they had bound them by oaths, they set sail to destroy the bridges, for they expected to find them still stretched across : accordingly they sailed to the Hellespont.

107. The barbarians who fled, and were shut up in the heights of Mycale, not many in number, got safe to Sardis. But as they were marching, on their way Masistes, son of Darius, having been present at the defeat, uttered many hard words to the general Artayntes ; saying, amongst other things,

³ The Ionians were first subjugated by Harpagus, (i. 164, &c.,) afterwards revolted, (v. 28,) and were again reduced, (vi. 32.)

that he was more cowardly than a woman, for having commanded the army in such a manner, and that he deserved the most extreme punishment, for having brought mischief on the king's house. Now among the Persians to be called more cowardly than a woman is the greatest affront: he, therefore, when he had heard a good deal, being exceedingly indignant, drew his scymetar upon Masistes. But Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassian, who stood behind Artayntes, perceiving him rushing forward, seized him round the middle, and having lifted him up, threw him on the ground; and in the mean while the guards of Masistes came to his assistance. Xenagoras did this, thereby laying an obligation both on Masistes himself, and on Xerxes, by saving his brother; and for this action Xenagoras received the government of all Cilicia, as the gift of the king. While they were marching on the road, nothing more than this occurred, but they arrived at Sardis. At Sardis the king happened to be from the time when he fled thither from Athens, after his failure in the sea-fight.

108. While he was at Sardis he fell in love with the wife of Masistes, who also was there; but when she could not be moved by sending to solicit her, and he did not offer violence, out of regard for his brother Masistes; (and this same circumstance restrained the woman, for she well knew that she would not meet with violence;) thereupon Xerxes, being shut out from any other resource, brought about the marriage of his son Darius with the daughter of this woman and Masistes; thinking that he should get possession of her if he did thus. Having, therefore, concluded the marriage and performed the usual ceremonies, he departed for Susa. When he arrived there, he introduced the wife of Darius into his own house; and then his passion for the wife of Masistes ceased; and having changed his inclinations, he fell in love, and succeeded, with the wife of Darius, the daughter of Masistes: the name of this woman was Artaynte. 109. In course of time the matter was discovered in the following manner. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, having woven a large, various-coloured, and beautiful mantle, presented it to Xerxes, and he, being delighted, put it on, and went to Artaynte. Being pleased also with her, he bid her ask whatever she pleased as a reward for the favours she had granted him, for that she should have whatever she

asked. Thereupon, for it was fated that misfortune should befall the whole family by her means, she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I shall ask of you?" He, imagining she would ask for any thing rather than what she did, promised and swore; and she, when he had sworn, boldly asked for the mantle. Xerxes used every expedient, not wishing to give it; for no other reason than that he was afraid of Amestris, lest having before suspected what was going on, he should thus be detected; he therefore offered her cities, and a vast quantity of gold, and an army, which no one but herself should command: but an army is a common Persian gift. However, as he could not persuade her, he gave her the mantle; and she, being overjoyed with the present, wore it, and prided herself in it: and Amestris was informed that she had it. 110. Having learnt what had been done, she was not angry with the woman herself; but believing that her mother was the cause, and that she had done this, she planned the destruction of the wife of Masistes. Having therefore watched the time when her husband Xerxes should give the royal feast; (this feast is prepared once a year, on the day on which the king was born; and the name of this feast is, in the Persian language, "tycta," and in the Grecian language, "perfect;" and then only the king washes his head with soap, and makes presents to the Persians;) Amestris then, having watched that day, asked Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. He considered it a dreadful and cruel thing first of all to give up the wife of his brother, and next, one who was innocent of what had taken place; for he understood why she made this request. 111. At last, however, as she persisted, and being constrained by custom, for it is not allowed for any petitioner to be denied when the royal feast is spread, he therefore very reluctantly granted her request: and having delivered the woman to her, he did as follows. He bade her do what she pleased, and then, having sent for his brother, spoke thus: "Masistes, you are the son of Darius, and my brother, and, moreover, you are also a brave man. Cohabit, then, no longer with the wife you now have; and instead of her I will give you my own daughter. Cohabit with her; but the wife whom you now have, as it does not seem well to me, no longer retain." Masistes, astonished at what was said, answered, "Sire, what mischievous language do you hold to

me, bidding me *put away* a wife, by whom I have three young sons, and daughters, of whom you have married one to your own son, and this wife too is very much to my mind; you bid me put away her, and marry your own daughter? I, however, O king, though I deem it a great honour to be thought worthy of your daughter, will do neither of these things; and do not you use force in your desire to accomplish this end. Some other man, not inferior to me, will be found for your daughter; but let me cohabit with my own wife." Such was the answer he gave; but Xerxes in a rage replied, "Masistes, you have thus done for yourself; for neither will I give you my daughter in marriage, nor shall you any longer cohabit with your present one; that so you may learn to accept what is offered." He, when he heard this, withdrew, having said this much: "Sire, you have not yet taken away my life." 112. In the intermediate time, while Xerxes was in conference with his brother, Amestris, having sent for the body-guards of Xerxes, mutilated the wife of Masistes: having cut off her breasts, she threw them to the dogs, and also her nose, ears, and lips; and then, having cut out her tongue, she sent her home thus mutilated. 113. Masistes, who had not yet heard any thing of this, but suspecting some evil had befallen him, rushed home in great haste; and seeing his wife utterly destroyed, he thereupon consulted with his sons, and set out with them and some others for Bactria, designing to induce the Bactrian district to revolt, and to do the king all the mischief he could; which, in my opinion, would have happened, if he had been beforehand in going up to the Bactrians and Sacæ; for they were attached to him, and he was governor of the Bactrians. But Xerxes, being informed of his intentions, sent an army after him, and slew him, and his sons, and his forces upon the way. Such were the circumstances respecting the amour of Xerxes and the death of Masistes.

114. The Greeks having set out from Mycale towards the Hellespont, being overtaken by a storm, anchored near Lectis, and from thence they went to Abydos, and found the bridges broken in pieces, which they expected to find stretched across; and for this reason chiefly they came to the Hellespont. Upon this the Peloponnesians with Leotychides determined to sail back to Greece; but the Athenians and their

commander Xanthippus *resolved* to stay there and make an attempt on the Chersonesus. The former therefore sailed away; but the Athenians, having crossed over from Abydos to Chersonesus, besieged Sestos. 115. To this Sestos, as being the strongest fortress in these parts, when they heard that the Greeks were arrived in the Hellespont, there came together men from other neighbouring places, and among others, Ceobazus a Persian from Cardia, who had had all the materials of the bridges conveyed thither. Native Æolians occupied it, and there were with them Persians, and a great body of other allies. 116. Xerxes' viceroy Artayctes ruled over this district, a Persian wicked and impious, who had even deceived the king, on his march to Athens, by secretly taking away from Elæus the treasures of Protesilaus, son of Iphiclus. For in Elæus of the Chersonesus is a sepulchre of Protesilaus, and a precinct around it, where were great treasures, both gold and silver vessels, and brass, and robes, and other offerings, which Artayctes plundered by permission of the king. By speaking as follows, he deceived Xerxes: "Sire, there is here the habitation of a certain Grecian, who having carried arms in your territories, met with a just punishment and perished. Give me this man's house, that every one may learn not to carry arms against your territory." By saying this he would easily persuade Xerxes to give him the man's house, as he had no suspicion of his intentions. He said that Protesilaus had carried arms against the king's territory, thinking thus; the Persians consider that all Asia belongs to them and the reigning monarch. When, however, the treasures were granted he carried them away from Elæus to Sestos, and sowed part of the precinct, and pastured it; and whenever he went to Elæus, he used to lie with women in the sanctuary. At this time he was besieged by the Athenians, neither being prepared for a siege, nor expecting the Greeks; so that they fell upon him somewhat unawares. 117. But when autumn came on, as they were engaged in the siege, and the Athenians were impatient at being absent from their own country, and not able to take the fortification, they besought their leaders to take them back; they, however, refused, until either they should take the place, or the people of Athens should recal them; accordingly, they acquiesced in the present state of things.

118. In the mean while those who were within the fortification were reduced to the last extremity, so that they boiled and ate the cords of their beds ; and when they had these no longer, then the Persians, and Artayctes and Œobazus, made their escape by night, descending by the back of the fortification, where it was most deserted by the enemy. When it was day, the Chersonesians from the towers made known to the Athenians what had happened, and opened the gates ; and the greater part of them went in pursuit, but some took possession of the city. 119. As Œobazus was fleeing into Thrace, the Apsinthian Thracians seized him, and sacrificed him to Plistorus, a god of the country, according to their custom ; but those who were with him they slaughtered in another manner. Those with Artayctes, who had taken to flight the last, when they were overtaken a little above Ægos-Potami, having defended themselves for a considerable time, some were killed, and others taken alive, and the Greeks, having put them in bonds, conveyed them to Sestos ; and with them *they took* Artayctes bound, himself and his son. 120. It is related by the Chersonitæ, that the following prodigy occurred to one of the guards as he was broiling salt-fish ; the salt-fish lying on the fire leapt and quivered like fish just caught ; and the persons who stood around were amazed ; but Artayctes, when he saw the prodigy, having called the man who was broiling the salt-fish, said, "Athenian friend, be not afraid of this prodigy, for it has not appeared to you ; but Protesilaus, who is in Elæus, intimates to me, that though dead and salted, he has power from the gods to avenge himself on the person that has injured him. Now, therefore, I wish to make him reparation, and instead of the riches which I took out of his temple, to repay one hundred talents to the god ; and for myself and my children, I will pay two hundred talents to the Athenians, if I survive." By offering this, he did not persuade the general, Xanthippus ; for the Elæans, wishing to avenge Protesilaus, begged that he might be put to death, and the mind of the general himself inclined that way. Having, therefore, conducted him to that part of the shore where Xerxes bridged over the pass, or, as others say, to a hill above the city of Madytus, they nailed him to a plank and hoisted him aloft, and his son they stoned before the eyes of Artayctes. 121. Having done these things, they sailed back to Greece ; taking

with them other treasures and the materials of the bridges, in order to dedicate them in the temples; and during this year nothing more was done.

122. Artembares, the grandfather of this Artayctes who was hoisted aloft, was the person who originated a remark which the Persians adopted and conveyed to Cyrus, in these terms: "Since Jupiter has given the sovereign power to the Persians, and among men, to you, O Cyrus, by overthrowing Astyages; as we possess a small territory, and that rugged, come, let us remove from this, and take possession of another, better. There are many near our confines, and many at a distance. By possessing one of these, we shall be more admired by most men; and it is right that those who bear rule should do so; and when shall we have a better opportunity, than when we have the command of many nations, and of all Asia?" Cyrus having heard these words, and not admiring the proposal, bade them do so; but when he bade them he warned them to prepare henceforward not to rule, but to be ruled over; for that delicate men spring from delicate countries, for that it is not given to the same land to produce excellent fruits and men valiant in war. So that the Persians, perceiving their error, withdrew and yielded to the opinion of Cyrus; and they chose rather to live in a barren country, and to command, than to cultivate fertile plains, and be the slaves of others.

THE END.